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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY USOAS: FMCNEIL/ARA:WDROGERS:GFH

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P 0,1525Z OCT 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 220335

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CU, OAS

SUBJECT: CUBA SANCTIONS - THE ROAD TO QUITO

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING SUMMARIZES FOR INFORMATION OF
AMBASSADORS THE STATE OF PLAY ON THE CUBA SANCTIONS
ISSUE AND OUTLINES OUR STRATEGY FOR THE NOVEMBER 8
MFM IN QUITO. U.S. HAS NOT REPEAT NOT DECIDED ON HOW
IT WILL VOTE. WE WILL DO SO AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH
OTHER MEMBER STATES, AND STUDY OF DRAFT RESOLUTION TO
BE CONSIDERED AT MEETING. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN FYI:

1. OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL DECISIONS ON 20TH AND 23RD
OF SEPTEMBER CONVOKED RIO TREATY MFM FOR QUITO TO
QUOTE DECIDE WHETHER THERE IS JUSTIFICATION FOR DIS-
CONTINUING THE APPLICATION OF RESOLUTION I OF THE
NINTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION UNQUOTE AND TO HAVE THE
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PERMANENT COUNCIL (AS PROVISIONAL ORGAN OF CONSULTATION) UNDERTAKE PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE MFM.

2. IN ACHIEVING UNANIMOUS BACKING THE CO-SPONSORS (COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA AND VENEZUELA) MODIFIED THEIR

ORIGINAL DRAFT TO ACCOMMODATE OTHER POINTS OF VIEW. THEY ABANDONED COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY CONCEPT AT THE REQUEST OF ARGENTINA AND PERU, ACCEPTED SUBSTITUTE BRAZILIAN LANGUAGE FOR TERMS OF REFERENCE THAT HIGHLIGHTED PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION AND POSED ISSUE IN NEUTRAL TERMS, AND MET U.S. MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS RE TIMEFRAME FOR QUITO MFM AND ELIMINATION OF FIRST VERSION'S LINKAGES TO WORLD DETENTE. CHILE AND URUGUAY WISHED FURTHER REVISIONS, BUT YIELDED WHEN IT WAS APPARENT THEIR PROPOSALS DID NOT COMMAND MAJORITY SUPPORT.

3. THE LOW-KEY DEBATES ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT GOVERNMENTS HAD THE RIGHT TO SUBMIT OBSERVATIONS TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL (AS PROVISIONAL ORGAN OF CONSULTATION) IN ADVANCE OF MFM. WE BELIEVE URUGUAY, CHILE AND PERHAPS OTHERS MAY SUBMIT SUCH OBSERVATIONS DETAILING CONTINUING PROBLEMS WITH THE CUBANS, BUT WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR SPECIFIC ADVICE AS TO THE INCLINATION OF YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT.

4. COSTA RICAN FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO WAS REPORTED WORKING ON A DRAFT, WHICH WE HAVE NOT SEEN, AND HAS PROBABLY SUBMITTED IT TO HIS COLOMBIAN AND VENEZUELAN COLLEAGUES. HE INTENDS TO CONSULT FURTHER WITH THEM ON HIS RETURN NEXT WEEK FROM EUROPE, AND TO DISCUSS IN CONFIDENCE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF THEIR DRAFT WITH US AND WITH BRAZILIANS.

5. THE U.S. HAS MADE NO REPEAT NO DECISION ON HOW IT WILL VOTE. ITS OPTIONS ARE TO VOTE AGAINST, ABSTAIN OR VOTE FOR. WE WILL DECIDE ONLY AFTER WE HAVE CONSULTED WITH OTHER OAS MEMBERS, ASSESSED ANY INDICATIONS OF FUTURE CUBAN BEHAVIOR, AND STUDIED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION.

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6. WE COUNT FROM 12-15 LATIN VOTES FOR ENDING MANDATORY SANCTIONS, MEANING THERE WILL BE AT LEAST A MAJORITY (11 OUT OF 21 RIO TREATY SIGNATORIES). WHETHER THE PROPONENTS CAN ACHIEVE THE TWO-THIRDS (14 VOTES) REQUIRED BY THE LETTER OF THE RIO TREATY IS, AT WRITING, STILL IN DOUBT AND DEPENDS LARGELY ON THE SHAPE OF

THE RESOLUTION. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, A MAJORITY VOTE FOR LIFTING SANCTIONS WILL MARK THEIR EFFECTIVE DEMISE, ALTHOUGH THE ABSENCE OF A TWO-THIRDS VOTE WOULD LEAVE THE MATTER (AND THE RIO TREATY) IN JURIDICAL LIMBO. IF BRAZIL AND THE U.S. WERE TO VOTE FOR A RESO-

LUTION, IT WOULD LIKELY PASS WITH ONLY TWO OR THREE DISSENTING VOTES AT MOST.

7. NO MATTER HOW THE U.S. VOTES, AND WHATEVER THE RESULT, WE WISH, FIRST AND FOREMOST, A STRUCTURED MEETING WITH NO SURPRISES AND A MINIMUM OF EXTRANEOUS DEBATE (E.G. ON CHILE). THIS WILL GIVE THE LEAST COMFORT TO THOSE IN THE HEMISPHERE WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE OAS TEAR ITSELF APART AND THE MEMBER STATES AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER. WE DO NOT PLAN TO TAKE A LEAD IN THIS EFFORT, BUT WE MAY LATER SUGGEST THAT YOU UNDERTAKE QUIET NON-COMMITTAL CONSULTATIONS TO THIS END AFTER WE HAVE THE DRAFT RESOLUTION. ONCE FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE RETURNED FROM THE UNGA, SELECTED POSTS WILL RECEIVE FURTHER ADVICE.

8. WE PLAN TWO-TRACK CONSULTATIONS AS FOLLOWS, BEARING ON THE LATIN AMERICAN EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A WORKING CONSENSUS BEFORE QUITO ACTUALLY BEGINS:

A. WITH THE CO-SPONSORS (COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA AND VENEZUELA) PLUS ECUADOR, WHICH AS HOST GOVERNMENT WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE OUTCOME, WE WILL MAKE CLEAR WE CANNOT COMMIT OUR VOTE, BUT POINT OUT IT IS TO EVERYONE'S INTEREST TO DEVISE A FORMULA WHICH AVOIDS DEVISIVE ISSUES. THIS WILL HELP ACCOMMODATE THE CONCERNS OF COUNTRIES WHICH STILL ENTERTAIN RESERVATIONS ABOUT CUBA, AND THUS EXPAND THE BASE
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OF POTENTIAL SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION.

B. WITH OTHERS (E.G. BRAZIL, URUGUAY, GUATEMALA, ETC.), WE WILL SUGGEST -- WITHOUT NECESSARILY COMMITTING THEIR OWN VOTES -- THAT THEY URGE THE CO-SPONSORS TO DEVISE A FORMULA THAT ACCOMMODATES THEIR CONCERNS.

9. IN VIEW OF THE SECRETARY'S HEAVY TRAVEL SCHEDULE, IT IS UNLIKELY HE CAN ATTEND. SISCO WILL LEAD DELEGATION IN ALL PROBABILITY. WE WILL SO ADVISE ECUADOR SHORTLY. END FYI. KISSINGER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, POLICIES, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, SANCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE220335
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: FMCNEIL/ARA:WDROGERS:GFH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740283-0961
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741087/aaaahfel.tel
Line Count: 170
Locator: TEXT ON MICROFILM, TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 SEP 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 SEP 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <04 MAR 2003 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 971106
Subject: CUBA SANCTIONS - THE ROAD TO QUITO FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE
TAGS: PFOR, CU, US, OAS
To: ARA POSTS
USCINCSO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005